

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 05224 151903Z

63

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OES-03 EPA-01

FEA-01 NEA-09 EA-06 SAM-01 /089 W

----- 019766

R 151620Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9310

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 5224

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR

SUBJ: SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR 25TH PARTY CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY. COLUMBIA PROFESSOR MARSHALL SHULMAN, WHO HAS JUST COMPLETED A THREE-WEEK STUDY VISIT TO THE USSR, SPOKE WITH A WIDE RANGE OF SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO ARE APPARENTLY ENGAGED IN PREPARING STUDIES OF THE CAPITALIST AND THE SOVIET SYSTEMS IN PREPARATION FOR THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS. THE MAJOR CONCLUSIONS WHICH SHULMAN GLEANED FROM HIS CONTACTS AND WHICH HE CAUTIONS ARE HIGHLY SPECULATIVE ARE:

(1) THE SOVIETS FEEL THE WEST WILL BOUNCE BACK FROM ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; (2) SOVIET IMPORT OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY IS NOT IN ITSELF EXPECTED TO CURE THE SOVIET TECHNOLOGICAL LAG AND CHANGES IN INFRASTRUCTURE MAY BE NECESSARY; AND (3) WORLD DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE LAST PARTY CONGRESS HAVE STRENGTHENED SOVIET CONFIDENCE IN THE CORRECTNESS OF THEIR DETENTE POLICY AND IT IS LIKELY TO BE CONFIRMED AT THE NEXT CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

2. SHULMAN SPOKE TO A WIDE RANGE OF SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO ARE INVOLVED IN RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF THE "SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION" ON THE CAPITALIST
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 05224 151903Z

SYSTEM AND ON THE SOVIET SYSTEM. HE GOT THE STRONG

IMPRESSIN THAT THE WORK IS BEING DONE IN PREPARATION FOR THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS NEXT YEAR AND IS SIMILAR TO THE EFFORT UNDERTAKEN BEFORE THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1971. THE CURRENT EXERCISE IS BASICALLY DESIGNED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS IN WHAT THE SOVIETS CALL THE "SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION." SHULMAN'S IMPRESSION IS THAT THREE FACTORS ARE RECEIVING PARTICULAR STUDY: MILITARY, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIETY" SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS. SHULMAN BELIEVES THAT THE INTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (IMEMO) HAS THE MAJOR ROLE IN THIS STUDY, AND HE UNDERSTANDS THAT THE INSTITUTE'S DIRECTOR, N.N. INOZEMTSEV, WILL DRAFT THE FINAL DOCUMENT FOR THE CONGRESS. OTHER INSTITUTES WHICH ARE APPARENTLY ENGAGED IN THIS WORK ARE THE USA INSTITUTE, THE INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF NATURAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

3. WITH REGARD TO THE EFFECT OF THE "SCIENFIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION" ON THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, SHULMAN HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE STUDY INVOLVES AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE SECTORS AND THE PRIVATE SECTORS IN WESTERN STATES ON SUCH NEW PROBLEMS AS POLLUTION, ENERGY, ETC.; AND THAT IT DISCUSSES THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL AS AGAINST SUPRANATIONAL SOLUTIONS FOR SUCH PROBLEMS. THE STUDY ALSO ANALYZES THE VIABILITY AND ADAPTABILITY OF THE WESTERN ECONOMIC SYSTEM TO THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. ONE OF SHULMAN'S INTERLOCUTORS (SHAMBERG OF IMEMO) SAID THAT THE CURRENT "CRISIS" IN THE WEST REPRESENTS A "DEEPENING OF THE THIRD STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM." SHAMBERG DID NOT DESCRIBE CAPITALISM AS ENTERING ITS FINAL STAGE OF CRISIS AND HE ANTICIPATED THAT THE WEST'S TECHNOLOGICAL PROWESS WOULD ENABLE IT TO RECOVER. (A SIMILAR VIEW WAS EXPRESSED TO A WESTERN DIPLOMAT RECENTLY BY THE WELL-KNOWN SOVIET COMMENTATOR YURI ZHUKOV, WHO DESCRIBED THE CURRENT CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AS A "PASSING PHENOMENON.") SHULMAN WAS STRUCK IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE STRENGTH AND RESILIENCY WHICH HIS SOVIET CONTACTS APPEARED TO ATTRIBUTE TO THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 05224 151903Z

CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

4. AS THE EFFECT OF THE "SCEINTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION" ON THE SOVIET SYSTEM, PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY APPARENTLY INCLUDE PROSPECTS FOR THE INFLUX OF TECHNOLOGY FROM THE WEST TO THE SOVIET UNION, THE CAPACITY OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY TO USE IMPORTED TECHNOLOGY, AND THE EXTENT TO WICH TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFER FROM THE WEST

MIGHT ENABLE THE SOVIET SYSTEM TO AVOID MAJOR CHANGES IN INFRASTRUCTURE. RELATED QUESTIONS ARE WHETHER LARGE-SCALE ECONOMIC REFORM WILL BE NECESSARY IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND WHETHER DECISION-MAKING POWER WILL NEED TO BE SOMEWHAT DECENTRALIZED. ON ALL THIS, SHULMAN HAS THE FEELING THAT THE SOVIET STUDY IS MOVING TOWARD A CONCLUSION THAT THE IMPORT OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, EVEN IF IT WERE POSSIBLE AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN CURRENTLY, WILL NOT SPARE THE SOVIET UNION THE NECESSITY OF ORGANIC CHANGES IN ITS INFRASTRUCTURE. SHULMAN WAS NOT TOLD OUTRIGHT THAT THE USSR WAS HEADING FOR ANOTHER PERIOD OF ECONOMIC REFORM, BUT HE HAD THE FEELING THAT TECHNOLOGICAL CONTACTS WITH THE WEST ARE NOT SEEN AS A PANACEA FOR SOVIET TECHNOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.

5. SHULMAN FEELS THAT THE CURRENT STUDY, UNLIKE THE ONE DONE IN PREPARATION FOR THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS, IS BEING CARRIED OUT IN A CLIMATE OF SOVIET CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF THEIR SYSTEM AND IN ITS ABILITY TO COMPETE WITH THE WESTERN SYSTEM. HE FEELS THAT, IN VIEW OF THE HIGHER COMPARATIVE SOVIET GROWTH RATES, OF THE IMPROVED SOVIET TRADE AND HARD CURRENCY POSITION, AND OF THE WEST'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE SOVIETS HAVE LESS OF AN INFERIORITY COMPLEX ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THEIR OWN SYSTEM, E.G. OF THEIR LAG IN TECHNOLOGY, THAN THEY HAD IN 1970-71.

6. SHULMAN BELIEVES THAT THIS FEELING OF CONFIDENCE AND VALIDATION ALSO AFFECTS THE SOVIET VIEW OF DETENTE. SHAMBERG TOLD HIM THAT THE SOVIET DETENTE POLICY HAS BEEN VINDICATED IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS AND THAT IT SHOULD BE CONTINUED, NOT JUST BECAUSE IT IS THE LINE, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 05224 151903Z

BUT BECAUSE ITS CORRECTNESS HAS BEEN CONFIRMED. THE USSR HAS NOT CREATED THE PROBLEMS IN VIETNAM, THE MIDDLE EAST, OR PORTUGAL, SHAMBERG SAID; THESE ARISE FROM LOCAL CAUSES, ALTHOUGH UNDER CONDITIONS OF DETENTE SUCH PROBLEMS ARE MORE LIKELY TO ARISE--THUS, THERE IS GOOD REASON TO CONTINUE THE PRESENT COURSE.

7. SHULMAN DETECTED NO SOVIET INTERNAL DEBATE ABOUT MOVING TO A MORE MILITANT POLICY. HE FELT THAT THE SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE WEST WOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY A LOW PROFILE, AN ABSENCE OF GLOATING TOWARD WESTERN TROUBLES, AND AN EFFORT TO PROJECT A "NO-HANDS" IMAGE IN TROUBLE SPOTS. HE FELT IT LIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT PUSH THEIR ADVANTAGES--FOR INSTANCE IN PORTUGAL--TOO HARD, FOR FEAR OF ANTI-DETENTE REACTIONS

IN THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE AND OF A RESURGENCE OF
RIGHTWING MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE. HE FELT THAT THE SOVIETS
WOULD PRESS FOR SUCCESS IN SALT AND IN THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, IN PART AS AN ANTIDOTE
T THE RISKS FOR DETENTE IN THE VIETNAM AND
PORTUGUESE SITUATIONS.

8. SHULMAN HAS ASKED THAT THIS INFORMATION BE BROUGHT
TO THE ATTENTION OF COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PLANNING MEETINGS, PARTY MEETINGS, POLITICAL SUMMARIES, ECONOMIC TRENDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW05224
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750132-0050
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750451/aaaabuzx.tel
Line Count: 179
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <18 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR 25TH PARTY CONGRESS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR
To: STATE LENINGRAD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006